THE LIBERATOR

"COMRADES LET US ALL UNITE."

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JOHN MOST MEMORIAL

A Grand Success -- A Magnificent Tribute.

A Grand Old Warrior Fallen—Fully Five Thousand Persons Crowded Grand Central Palace —Hall Packed with His Comrades and Sympathizers.

The memorial services held for Comrade John Most last Sunday was a magnificent tribute to a true Revolutionist gone forever from our midst. Long before the hour set for the meeting to begin the spacious hall was well filled, and by the time the speaking began it was packed. The program was an exceptionally good and appropriate one, and was carried out to the letter without a hitch. The singing societies rendered some songs composed by Most himself in such a sad and sympathetic manner that there were few dry eyes in that large audience. The list of speakers was a long and well selected one. Each speaker paid their tribute to the memory of him whom they had walked with and worked with in life.

The collection netted over $500. All above the expenses of the meeting will go to Most's two small children.

The following is a fair report from a capitalistic morning paper:

* * *

The Grand Central Palace was crowded yesterday afternoon with Anarchists and sympathizers gathered to commemorate the life of the late Johann Most.

Lucy Parsons, widow of Albert Parsons, one of the executed Chicago Anarchists, was present, having journeyed from Illinois to be at the meeting and speak in tribute to the dead Anarchist. The speakers were many and of many languages. Each of them aimed a part of his oratory at *The Times* in response to a recent editorial on Most and his life. *The Times* was berated in Hebrew, Yiddish, German, Italian and English.

Red banners, red feathers in red hats of many women, red neckties and red badges for the men and the blue coats of more than a hundred policemen under Inspector Walsh gave color to the assemblage. The reporters were denounced as the hirelings of the capitalistic element.

Abraham Isaacs presided, and in his opening address made the first attack on *The Times*, declaring that it was the only paper that dared insinuate against the sincerity and honesty of Most's motives and that it had "insinuated that Most should have been shot down in the streets."

"Most loved justice and truth," he declared, "and for no other reason he was hounded and persecuted. Had he lived 2,000 years ago he would have been crucified. As it was he got only ten years in prison.

Emma Goldman, wearing a black gown, bare-headed and bare-throated, followed Max Boginsky, who spoke in German. She too denounced the press.

"Never a man was so shamefully hounded by the representatives of the robbers and thieves as was Most," she declared. "Their work knows no limit when it comes to misrepresenting an idea. They have done all they could to misrepresent Most's ideas, but they still live. They also misrepresented the man when they failed to kill his ideas. They represented him as the wildest of beasts, in pictures and articles, using lies, infamous lies.

"The ruling powers may think they can now rest in peace because he is dead, but, although he is dead, this great meeting shows that his ideas live. A time will come when we will gather to celebrate our freedom, and there will be no officers in blue coats and brass buttons around us."

After a speech in Yiddish, Comrade Kelley spoke. He denounced *The Times* and informed the audience of the birth of a new Anarchistic magazine called "Mother Earth," published by Emma Goldman and edited by Max Boginsky, Lucy Parsons referred to the bomb-throwing in Chicago as "an explosion which rent this capitalistic country."

"In 1883 it required more courage to say 'I am an Anarchist,' than it does in 1906," she declared. "But Most had the courage to say it then, and to declare that he was a friend of those men who were being hounded to the gallows. In America, the land of the free and the home of the slave, the flag which invites the immigrant fleeing from tyranny and oppression to a place of refuge tells a brazen lie, because here they imprison men for telling the truth. If the founders of this republic had been made of such contemptible stuff as Americans are made of to-day there would have been no republic."

She referred to the policemen as the "vile hirelings of the capitalistic spirit personified in a club and a few brass buttons."

"They hated Most," she said, 'because he tore the veil of hypocrisy from society with a ruthless hand and said to the proletariat, 'Look behind the veil and see the devils bred in hell with hearts of stone.' If he had said our McCurdys and Perkinses and the Standard Oil push were elegant gentlemen he would have been called an elegant gentleman himself. But he called them thieves and liars. That was his crime and that is our crime.

"We have burned our bridges behind us. I despise the civilization which sends 1,700,000 children to work in the factories. But the spirit of liberty is abroad. There never has been a time when there was so much unrest in the world, and from this unrest will be born the sturdy child of liberty."

Editor S. Yanovsky of the *Free Workmen's Voice* reviewed Most's life and the principles of Anarchy. He spoke in Yiddish. Pietro de Estavi spoke in Italian. For all of the speeches there was abundant cheering.

The collection baskets had to be passed several times to cover the expenses of the meeting. The chairman announced that $347.93 and three gold rings were collected on the first tour. After paying $350 expenses it was hoped to get a sum of money to add to a fund for the education of Most's children.

The audience sang "Die Arbeitsmanner," written by Most, demanding it over and over again. The playing of the "Marseillaise" stirred the crowd, while the funeral march by Chopin made many women weep.

Inspector Walsh had no trouble handling the Anarchists.

WAKE UP, COMRADES, AND GET BUSY.

Comrade Lucy E. Parsons is out on a lecture tour over the East, so communicate with her about arranging meetings. Remember that we have a fight on our hands such as we had in 1886 for the lives of our noble comrades in Idaho, and if we don't raise strong enough protest the capitalist conspirators will certainly carry through their damnable plot. So communicate with Comrade Parsons at once, at 85 East Fourth street, New York City.

LOOK OUT FOR BLUE PENCIL MARK.

All subscribers finding a *blue mark* on the wrapper of their paper, *must renew immediately* or their names will be dropped from the list.

MRS PARSON'S NEW YORK LETTER.

That Little "Slumming" Expedition—The Result—A Thousand Miles from Home—Not a Penny! The New Yorker's Consolation.

After the long run from Chicago one arrives in Jersey City. You take a ferry boat for New York City. The Hudson river is fairly swarming with crafts of every description, from the small tug to the great trans-Atlantic steamer, the wonder of maritime achievements. After a few minutes we touch the New York shore; then we are ushered into the most intense center of commercialism on this continent. The most intense poverty and the most luxuriating wealth. Here we have our Murray Hill, Fifth avenue, Riverside drive and Madison avenue, etc., with their magnificent palaces, equipages, fine women and fancy dogs, the latter much in evidence.

The people who dwell along these avenues lack nothing so much as human kindness and a realization that they are a part and parcel of a common humanity; they have their troubles, cares and sorrows, it is true, but these are due largely to the unnatural lives they lead; it is a different care and sorrow from that of the poor.

Speaking of the poor, I have seen more abject poverty within a stone's throw of where I am stopping, and in walking through the streets where live the poor of New York City, than I have witnessed in the whole course of my life before.

In coming to New York I passed through miles and miles of as good rich, tillable land as there is to be found anywhere, both in the United States and Canada. Millions of acres of this land is untouched, and when I arrive in New York I find tens of thousands of human beings living in heaps, piled upon one another, packed like sardines in tenement houses, poor, ignorant and dejected, helplessness and despair deep-furrowed upon their blank faces. Every steamship which lands dumps hundreds of them each day upon the streets of New York City, and these float towards and become mixed in with the poverty already here, until the whole mass presents a picture of poverty and despair at once degrading, disgusting and depressing. It cannot be duplicated anywhere in America, I believe. In short, the evils and glaring inequalities of conditions under our present unjust, unsocial system are more conspicuous here than anywhere else in America, is my candid belief.

Here tens of thousands of children are born each year, doomed to be reared in the stuffy, dirty, overcrowded tenements and upon the dirty streets and sidewalks, who will never know what the beauties of nature mean, will never know what it is to lie beneath a shady tree and watch the fleeing clouds flit by or hear the song birds sing or watch the green leaves with which the gentle breezes play or sit beside the babbling brook and build air-castles. No! all the charms of nature in her purity will remain to them a sealed book. Alas! none of these innocent pastimes will ever be enjoyed by thousands of New York City's children.

From the bare, barren, uninviting tenements they will go to the factories and become mere cogs in the great revolving wheels. Their intellects already stupefied, will become brutalized.

How to get these helpless human beings out of the overcrowded cities and on the bosom of mother earth is one of the greatest problems of the age.

In the streets and quarters where dwell the poor, there is no evidence of race suicide. In the house where I am stopping, there are six families to the floor; the building is six stories high; there is but one entrance to the whole house. The only places for the children to play are in the halls and street, or on the stairs. This is one of the modern houses; in fact, it is just completed. The bedrooms are so small that only single beds or cots can be used in them. Into these little flats will often be crowded four, five or six families with twelve to twenty children. How do they live? Well, you tell, dear reader. I only give the facts.

If President Roosevelt were to happen into this part of the town, his dentistry would shine forth resplendently; he would see no signs of race suicide hereabout.

Living expenses are something unthinkable to those who have never visited New York. For four small rooms—mere closets—on the fourth or fifth floors, $25 are paid; for the lower floors still more is paid, and these prices are paid right in the slums. In better neighborhoods higher rents are charged. All the necessaries of life are at exorbitant prices. When these prices are taken into account one can imagine how the people are compelled to crowd together in order to pay the rent and live at all.

But, readers of THE LIBERATOR, here is the best joke of the season on your humble correspondent:

Two days after arriving in New York City I started out to do a little "slumming" and to gather material for THE "LIB."

Well, I strolled leisurely along Broom street (which needs brooms very badly), noting the evidences of wretchedness that are to be seen on every hand. Duplications of the countenance of "The Man with the Hoe" are met on all sides in these quarters of the town, these streets of the Ghetto.

At a newsstand I stopped, purchased a morning paper, was about to fasten my hand-bag when I was suddenly, rudely jostled, and my hand-bag was "swiped" by a light-fingered gentleman, an "artful dodger," who made off with my hand-bag, money, valuables and all. So sudden was the holdup, in broad daylight, that I was amazed. I tried to follow the robber, but my way was blocked by two others. Then I understood the whole scheme. I was the victim of a gang who had been following me, waiting for a favorable opportunity to snatch my hand-bag.

Well, for a few minutes I was bewildered. A thousand miles from home, not a penny, and hungry at that, for I was on my way to lunch at the time. The thief was twenty dollars ahead; I was twenty dollars out of pocket. I felt very humble indeed. The Ghetto lost all interest for me. Reader, were you ever in the same fix? I hope you never may be.

When I related my troubles to my friends, the New Yorkers—they had a very cold, discomforting way about them. They said, in a distant, nonchalant way, "Why, didn't you know you were in New York?"

New York, nevertheless, is a great and wonderful city. It is liable to take considerable of the conceit out of a Chicagoan to come here.

L. E. P.

"VIA TRIUMPHALIS."

(J. E. Chase.)

Heedless, he held his way, and crushed the hearts
And souls of men beneath his iron heel,
Knowing no law but Self, he grasped the secret
Of a tremendous power, which he wielded
Without remorse or pity, and, to him,
All good was gross unless a policy
Was served thereby. The great globe was his field,
And he acknowledged no superior,
No higher force. He lived but for a dream,
And less than a dream's substance was attain'd
By his insane and bloody energy;
Yet, he was happy in his way—forsooth—
His conscience slept, and could not be arous'd,
Therefore, he kept the course, and sycophants,
And shameless flatterers still lured him on
Unto his certain and impending doom;
And when he met the terror face to face,
He cried to Heaven for succor, but in vain,
For he was crushed—and by the self-same pow'r
He had evolved.

THE MOYER-HAYWOOD CASE.

A Concise Statement of their Case —Sneaking Work of Detectives —"Third Degree for Helpless Prisoners."

At an early hour yesterday President Moyer, of the Miners' Union, was removed from the Caldwell Jail to the Ada County Jail. Pettibone and Haywood are still in the jail at Caldwell.

The accused men are to be placed each in different jails, and according to persons who are in a position to know, "third degree" methods are to be applied to them in hopes of securing a confession. When they were first arrested they were subjected to a mild third degree. The detectives, however, changed their plan, and because of the newspaper notoriety given of the unfair treatment of the men while in the jail, they were given additional food and better accommodations. They were permitted to talk to each other and the three were at times allowed to assemble outside their cells. Detectives, however, were in adjoining cells where they could hear their conversation.

All plans having failed it now has been decided that the men will be administered the regular third degree, so well known to private detective agencies. The case is being handled by two detective agencies.

Although not one of the detectives is a resident of the State and really have no authority under the law except that vested in them by the Governor, they are in absolute control of the case, and a regular police and the Sheriff and his deputies are ignored by the special detectives. Labor unions all over the country have requested the Governor not to permit the third degree system to be put in operation with these men, especially as Moyer, whose health already is in a serious condition, may die as a result of the strain.

The little city of Boise is flooded with detectives and all visitors are subjected to close scrutiny. No one escapes the watchful eyes of the sleuths, who prowl about doing very little of anything except to annoy visitors, and this, too, at the expense of the county.

A full staff of Pinkerton men are kept under command of Detective McParland, who makes his headquarters at the Idaho Hotel, where he also has a full office staff of typewriters and clerks, also at the expense of the county. Just what they do to keep busy few can tell, but they ramble about in a most mysterious manner.

In addition to the regular Denver counsel and Lawyer Darrow, of Chicago, the Western Federation of Miners has decided to engage W. Bourke Cockran of New York, and another prominent criminal lawyer, whose name would not be given for publication.

"Let them get all the counsel they want," declared Governor Gooding today. "The more able they are the better for me, because I am particularly desirous that there should be no doubt as to their having a fair trial."

Aside from the alleged confession of Orchard, who is said to have been at one time in the employ of the mine owners, and the alleged confession of Steve Adams, a former miner and the persistent declaration of Governor Gooding, "these men are guilty beyond a doubt," little can be learned of the State's case against the miners.

When I asked Detective McParland, he referred me to the now much-worn confession. Inquiry of the Governor as to why he believes the officers of the Miners' Union guilty brought the same reference to the confessions. Both deny that Orchard was ever detective in the employ of the mine owners, but give as their informant Orchard himself, a confessed murderer, who calmly declares that he murdered thirty persons.

In an hour's interview with Governor Gooding, in which was told of the universal belief that an effort was being made to railroad these men, because of their positions in the union and the many strikes they are alleged to have led, the Governor simply repeated that they were guilty.

"All the money that the mine owners of the State or of the State of Colorado have could not cause an unfair trial. If the confessions are untrue, the attorneys for the men will have a chance at Orchard."

"Don't you think it will have a tendency to prejudice the people of this county and, in fact, of the whole State, when you repeatedly give out statements as to their guilt?" the Governor was asked.

"I had not thought of that," he replied, "but I am sure they are guilty and I cannot help saying it."

Most of the work of the prosecution is being done by the Governor himself and his staff of detectives. The prosecuting attorney is angered at the Governor taking such an active part. Prosecutor Hawley, to his intimate friends, frequently has declared that, according to law, the Governor represents the executive department of the State's government, while the judicial administration belongs to the prosecutor.

In the meantime the prisoners are being visited daily in their cells by detectives in the hope of securing alleged confession. At the county prison, where Moyer is confined, it was declared today that he is very ill, and had to have a physician called in to attend him.

The officers are permitted to write a letter every two weeks, and in the letter of Haywood to the acting officers of the union in Denver, he enclosed a message to his wife in which he said:

"Have courage, I will prove my innocence and this attempt to railroad us will but add strength to our union. Right must win and we have right on our side. In the great struggle between capital and labor, those who fight the cause of labor must suffer because of the strength of capital. I am sure the world believes in my innocence and will see fair play done quickly."

Traveling salesmen who reached here today were annoyed by having sleuths follow them about the town. Several of them complained to the police and later to the Governor.

All day my trip about the city from place to place was marked by two men who followed close behind me.

In and out of stores, on and out of cars they were with me. At other times I engaged a cab to go to the County Court House, and as I alighted to enter the building, I noticed my two old "Gum Shoe" friends getting out of a cab a few feet away. I appealed to Governor Gooding, who assured me that he would instruct the detectives to cease trailing me.

It was not until I informed them that they were liable to arrest and imprisonment for annoying me (and I threatened to bring a suit against their firm) that they ceased following me, and one of them remarked, "Well, you're a pretty fresh guy, anyhow."

Subscribers write: "Can you tell me where I can obtain photos of the five Anarchitss, executed in Chicago in 1887." We have received quite a number of inquiries for photos of our comrades. If we receive one hundred orders for the photos, we will have them made, all on one large plate, beautifully mounted, as we have excellent photos of all the comrades. The price of the photos, postage included, will be 50 cents. Orders will be received at Liberator office. If one hundred orders are not received, the money will be returned to the sender.

We have already received several orders.

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MISTAKES FOR WHICH THE EDITOR IS NOT TO BLAME.

I am exceedingly sorry that during my absence articles have appeared in No. 27 of THE LIBERATOR, for which due credit was not given the writers or the publications in which they originally appeared. We trust the proof reader will be more careful in future, and ask pardon of those whose articles have appeared without due credit.

THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN NEW YORK CITY GETTING ACTIVE.

The Progress Library—Its Good Work—"Club Anarchy" Organized in East New York—Comrades are Waking Up.

The Anarchist movement in New York evinces far more vigor and cohesion than was the case when I visited this city some eighteen months ago.

The Progressive Library is composed of a group of young, energetic, intelligent, progressive Jewish comrades who are doing excellent work for Anarchist propaganda. This group was organized a little over a year ago, and commenced its labors in a small room down town, but so earnest and tireless were its organizers that they now occupy two commodious floors in a well-appointed building situated at 106 Forsyth street. On the first floor are the library and reading rooms, office and room for holding business meetings. The shelves of the library are well stocked with works of the best known authors on science, art and radical literature. It is a positive pleasure to drop into this library any afternoon or evening and see the young people, men and women, so intently engaged in reading the very best literature extant. There are also kept constantly on hand a good assortment of pamphlets, papers and magazines. There is a positive comfort and element of fraternal comradeship about this group of young persons that is pleasant and reassuring. We only trust that they may be emulated and that Progressive libraries may be organized all over America.

On the second floor there is a pleasant little hall with a capacity of about 250 to 300 persons. Here are given lectures, concerts and balls. I am informed that many pleasant, enjoyable evenings are spent in this neat little hall, with its nice piano sitting snugly in one corner, ever ready to supply the boys and girls with recreation and act as an accompaniment to "the light fantastic," for boys will be boys and girls will be girls, so they must have their fun and amusement.

The other night I dropped into one of their business meetings. I was very much interested, indeed, to see how they did things. The whole proceedings were conducted in the most methodical manner imaginable. The chairman was an intelligent young fellow who conducted the meeting with considerable skill. He would do a great deal of talking at times for a chairman, but this was only owing to his earnestness of purpose and sincerity. It was amusing to watch with what consummate skill he could bring order back to the meeting when the comrades became a little too emphatic. This young chairman has such an open, frank, honest, intelligent, good-natured face—the very best element to meet with in a chairman—that it was no trouble for him to keep the meeting running along smoothly. Of course, at times the boys would talk loud, very loud, but this was only the youth bubbling over in them. We bespeak a long and useful life for the Progressive Library of New York City.

There are also many other groups and societies doing good work in and around New York. The young comrades over in East New York have just organized a group. I spoke there for them last week on the Moyer-Haywood arrest. They also have a very nice, comfortable little hall and bid fair to do good work.

We dropped into the *"Frei Arbeiter Stemme"* office a few days ago, had a pleasant chat with its editor, Comrade Yanofky. He is the same quick, active, energetic, overworked comrade as of yore. With a daily and weekly newspaper to attend to he must have his hands full indeed. The German comrades hold their meetings away up town, around 80th and 90th streets. We haven't come in close touch with them as yet, but will report their doings in our next letter.

The American element are also active in radical work. They have their Manhattan Liberal Club, Harlem Liberal Club, and a great many others who are all working for good.

LUCY E. PARSONS.

April 3.

THE I. W. W. AND THE SHORT HOUR WORK DAY.

The utter irreconcilability of the interest of labor and capital based upon the present system of buying and selling; the utter hopelessness of arbitrating and harmonizing the interests of the two parties to any lasting agreement, one of whom gains where the other loses, should be transparent to any one who gives the matter serious thought.

We see this fact exemplified now in the long wrangle going on between the miners and the mine owners.

Capital is invested in a "plant" by its owner for the purpose of deriving profit therefrom. Labor is employed to reproduce or create more wealth, and the mutual interests of wealth producer and the profit taker is ended. The one is employed by the other; the laborer wishes to sell his labor at the highest figure possible; the capitalist wishes to buy at the lowest, so the conflict of interest begins. The whole labor problem is brought up when the dispute arises over the share of the product which each of these parties, the worker and the capitalists, are to receive. The competitive system fixes the wages received by the wage class upon the basis of mere subsistence; all over and above this sum, the surplus, goes to the profit-taker. Hence the hours of labor is a vital question at all times, for it is a well established fact that the compensation of the wage earner decreases in exact proportion to the number of hours he is employed, while the share of the profit-taker increases in the same ratio. This is not taking into account the moral and social benefits to be derived from the added leisure gained by shorter work days, and consequently the increased intelligenee of the wage-earner gained by the shorter workday. The capitalistic class understand this; consequently there is no demand which they fight harder than a demand for a reduction of the working hours. Witness the long, hard fight of the Typographical union for this point alone.

A reduction of the hours of labor to the point where all can have employment is worth a GENERAL STRIKE, because upon this point all efforts could be focused, and if carried its beneficial effects would be felt immediately by the whole working class, men, women and children. It would be an object lesson at once demonstrating what united effort can accomplish. Having carried this point of attack, further moves could be instituted for attacks upon the profit-taking class, and gained until the wage system is abolished and a system of cooperation is instituted. The working class preparing themselves in the meantime for the larger liberty.

There was a movement at one time not so many years ago either, which was international in its scope, which had for its object the setting aside the first of May for a general, international holiday, looking ultimately to the inauguration of a short-hour work day, but this grand idea has been side-tracked in later years by a lot of political buncombe and claptrap, thus persuading the working classes into the notion that they can gain their freedom by electing a lot of fellows to office. The I. W. W. and other advanced labor organizations could not show their real usefulness to the toiling classes better than by reviving this international holiday. For the I. W. W. cannot hope to gain and hold the confidence of the wage class long if it has no definite aim in view looking to a lasting betterment of economic conditions.

The Industrial Workers of the World have been organized nearly a year. What have they done worth mentioning? Carried a few isolated, insignificant strikes? What does this amount to?

The whole organization seems to be floundering around like a ship lost at sea without a rudder. Take the magazine, "The Industrial Worker." Three issues are out. There is no definite line of action outlined in it. What kind of showing can they make at their next convention soon to be held?

L. E. P.

WHY ANARCHISTS DO NOT BELIEVE THAT EMANCIPATION WILL COME BY VOTING.

At every recurring election the politician is heard appealing to ignorance to establish justice. It is nothing new to our ears; we fully realize the emptiness of its professions. What do we gain by voting? Setting aside what the ballot might do, have we any security that our votes will be counted? See New York last year.

Hearst got the votes from the Socialists and McClellan stole the votes from Hearst. What became of the "sovereign" voter in the deal? What is true of New York is true elsewhere.

A few of our objections can be stated categorically:

1. Ballots are not always counted.

2. They may be fraudulently counted.

3. Even under the fairest conditions they cannot solve economic problems.

4. Successful politics is an art where honesty has as little chance as at a horse show; thimble rig game is won by the innocent.

But it is alleged both sides will resort to fraud and the chances are equal. That is, politics is a game of cards in which only the trumps win. Like a game also, "we, the people," are needed to constitute the rest of the pack, so that the gamblers may be enabled to deal out stacked hands. Suppose we refuse to be longer shuffled for their amusement. The hollow pretense would collapse at once. "But if we cease to vote there will be more oppression heaped upon us than ever," says the objector. Not at all. Abstination from voting would soon show its effects; it would show an increasing number of people losing faith in the frauds and oppressions heaped upon them by the political frauds and bunco steerers, and it would show further that we refused to endorse such frauds by voting for them. It would prick the bubble of suffrage by showing there are questions to be met beyond the province of the ballot.

By the workers abandoning the political field, which is of no earthly benefit to them, they will force economic questions to the front which are now obscured in the halls of legislation. We are told, "If you will only stick together you can carry any man into office." Which amounts to a Salvation Army drummer saying: "Think as I do and you will be saved." We have no candidates which we wish to take an oath to uphold the constitution, which is being made an instrument to oppress us. To vote is to give our influence to postpone the day of emancipation.

L. E. P.

WHAT IS ANARCHY? VIII.

We have now traced the origin of governmtent to that predaceous attitude towards neighboring communities which once characterized all except those having no neighbors near enough for plunder. The latter, as the Esquimaux and many tribes in the Malay Archipelago, have remained in a state of anarchy. But wherever there were populations near enough to attack, the barbarian's instinct of fighting and pillage led the masses to see that they needed chiefs. The governments thus established pretended that they were necessary to protect the people against foreign conquest; though we have seen proof that the less government a people have, the harder, other things being equal, it is to conquer them. The governments also pretended, though mostly at a later period, that they were needed to protect individuals against domestic violence, though in truth, as we have seen, a civilized community without a government, like the Klondike settlement, has less of that than where there is government; and even barbarious people, as the Malays above mentioned, are stated by very reliable travelers, as Alfred Russell Wallace, to be remarkably free from crime—undoubtedly because the ferocious and violent instincts of the barbarian there lack that powerful incentive which is given them by habitual war. These pretensions were set up by governments because, in all communities of which we know anything, there are members indisposed to fight but, for other reasons, extremely influential. The primitive maker of weapons, who did not himself go to war, would naturally have preferred to be without a king; and, as weapons are very necessary, not only for war, but hunting, he might have had a good deal to say about it, had not the king been able to persuade him that he was less likely to be conquered by some neighboring king if his own people had one than if they had not; or that he was likely to have his weapons taken without pay by hunters of his own tribe, unless there were a government to protect his rights. To convince him was tolerably easy, because a savage's ignorance makes his reasoning very superficial. He saw that the king sometimes did repel a dangerous foreign attack, and sometimes punished one subject for doing wrong to another; he also himself got a share of the slaves or other booty; and *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*—whether the enemy could not be beaten, the criminal punished, or a profit secured without a king as well as with, is a question he was not likely to raise. Nevertheless, we learn from the poet of a time as barbarous as Homer's that primitive chiefs frequently had to reckon with the wrath of Achilles and even the grumblings of Therides. That abject reverence for the sovereign which characterizes a despotic monarchy, that superstitious worship of the law which we may see in a republic like this, is a growth. It sprang from success in aggressive wars, with the boundless arroganee which success engenders. The king, originally a mere leader accepted on the strength of his personal qualities, became "His Holiness," "The Brother of the Sun," "The Viceregent of Heaven," etc.; in short, a god. His power increased with his assumptions; he acquired an army who impressed the people with well-grounded fear, and a priesthood who overawed them with terms not so reasonable; the pomp of royalty strengthened the superstition, and habit, perpetuated by tradition, the fears; till even those revolutions which sometimes destroy this deity became incapable of wiser aims than setting up another. In some countries circumstances more fitly treated at another point prevented the growing evil from assuming its most transparent form. Instead of an imbecile heir to some dead hero, the idolatry was bestowed on a living organization in which any ambitious individual might obtain a share. But this condition, in some respects favorable to liberty, and therefore to the advancement of civilization, is not favorable to a strong sense of individual right. The Chinese, whose emperor, or the bureau which acts for him, is absolute, are less servile to the law which he represents after a fashion than the Americans, because the latter are oppressed with two great delusions, from which they have only very lately begun, in some measure, to get free—that they make the law, and that the government observes it. No people make the law; it is always their rulers who do that. No rulers ever allow themselves to be hampered by the law; but only, when a spirit of revolt runs high, by that public sentiment on this account superstitoiusly supposed among republicans to make the law.

The proof of these assertions requires an analysis of law. The two largest divisions, as is familiarly known, are Common Law and Statutory. Common Law is defined as what has been law so long that "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Since it thus antedates record, we can only tell by inference how it originated; but the indirect evidence is sufficient for every historical purpose. Man is a gregarious animal. Like his congenors, the simia, he is also highly imitative. The universal propensity of like to associate with like, and the human or proto-human propensity to do as others do, impress upon every assemblage of human beings a common character, as we may see in any ship's company, club, boarding-house, school, church, regiment, etc. The great majority are but too ready to conform; the few who will not find it convenient to seek another society. This is the basis of those local customs which everywhere make the substance of the common law. But these customs do not, in themselves, amount to laws. "Law is a rule of action imposed by a superior power." The superior power must first exist; and a primitive tribe has no laws until it has a king, an aristocracy, a priesthood, or in short a government of some kind, which will not allow secession and exacts conformity. (For, though primitive, like later governments, are a good deal addicted to statutory innovation, this propensity is powerfully withstood by public opinion, which a primitive government, destitute of an army, has no means of overriding; so that, in general, we may say all early laws are either emphatic enactments under penalty of previously existing customs, or are considered harmonious with its spirit, and innovations only in detail. Nay, so strong is public opinion for the purpose of resisting, though not that of making, law, that the most despotic modern governments, attempting innovations beneficial in themselves, have frequently had to give them up on account of their unpopularity.*)

The customs thus first embodied in the common law are by no means such as would naturally spring from a "social contract" formed by a congress, however primitive, for the protection of individual rights. Neither have they anything in common with those very exacting practices which natural selection has imposed on other social animals, as the ants and bees. They are stupid conformities to barbarians' habits whose origin was "accidental," that is, defies all explanation and analysis. The only feature they have in common is the superstitious dread of doing differently from what it has been usual to do.**

C. L. JAMES.

*The Austrian Emperor, Joseph II, who had eminently the temper of a reformer, wishing to introduce the sensible practice of cremation, ordered that the bodies of persons dying in almshouses, prisons, asylums and other institutions controlled by the state should be burned instead of buried. The clamor which this order excited compelled him to rescind it before it had ever been reduced to practice; and probably if he had begun in his own family the same cause would have denied them the privilege of being restored at last to the elements in a swift and cleanly manner. In our own country, no large body of people could have been more rigidly subject to an arbitrary and hostile power than those of the southern states just after the close of the civil war. Nothing can be more ineffably absurd than the dislike of white southerners to dine at the same table or ride in the same vehicles with colored people, for, though they ridiculously sum up the whole sinfulness of Yankees in the words, "Associating with negroes," it is transparently evident that no other Aryan race associates with negroes half as much as themselves. Yet those "Civil rights" enactments which aimed at obliterating the color line were totally unsuccessful, because the white people of the south were, however illogically, attached to their own side of this crooked isothermal, while the negroes cared very little about it.

**"The Mongols think it a fault to touch the fire or take flesh out of the pot with a knife, or to cleave wood with a hatchet near the hearth, imagining that it takes away the fire's power. It is no less faulty to lean on a whip, or touch arrows with it; to kill young birds, or pour liquor on the ground; to strike a horse with a bridle, or break one bone against another." (Astley's *Collection of Voyages*, ap. Lubbak, *Origin of Civilization*.) This is a mere example. The *Origin of Civilization* shows by countless illustrations that all primitive nations are ridden with rules like these, while the things we think important, such as punishment of theft and murder, have no place in their jurisprudence. But, in the next article, I propose to show that our own common law is as arbitrary and superstitious as that of the Mongols.

TRADES-UNION MEASURE IN BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

A bill was introduced in the House of Commons in London by the Government recently providing that no act of a trade union shall be held to be unlawful if such act is lawful when committed by an individual, sets forth in express terms the right of peaceful picketing and defines the law of agency as applied to trade unions, making it impossible to claim redress from union funds for any act unless it is perfectly clear that the act was authorized by the governing body of the union.

This bill grew out of the Taff Vale decision, after a great strike in Wales, that trade-union funds are liable for illegal acts of individual members and awarding the Taff Vale Railway Company $115,000 against the Amalgamated Society of Railroad Servants.

In presenting the measure the Attorney-General, Sir J. Lawson Walton, explained that recent court decisions have seriously curtailed the usefulness of trades unions, their undoubted right of peaceful persuasion has been cut down to the point of extinction and funds to provide against sickness and lack of work have been held liable to meet claims based on repudiated acts of unauthorized [illegible].

The Labor members oppose the bill and are supported by the Irish and many Ministerial members. Unless the measure is extended so as to give union funds immunity from claims for damages arising from strikes the Labor members will test the opinion of the House with a bill they have prepared. The Irish will ask to have the bill extended to include Irish farmers and others who are open to unfair treatment.

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED.

We have received the following pamphlets from England, and recommend them to all who are studying Anarchism:

Law and Authority—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
The Wage System—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
Anarchist Communism — By Peter Kropotkin 10c
The State—Its Historic Role—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
Anarchist Morality—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
Expropriation — By Peter Kropotkin 10c
Anarchism—Its Philosophy and Ideal —By Peter Kropotkin.....10c
The Coming Revival of Socialism—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
An Appeal to the Young—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
War—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
The Commune of Paris 10c
Organized Vengeance Called Justice—By Peter Kropotkin....10c
The Superstition—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
Social General Strike. This pamphlet should be in the hands of every wage worker 5c
Evolution and Revolution—By Elisee Reclus 5c
History of the French Revolution—By C. L. James.....60c

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THE ANARCHIST SPEECHES

In No. 16 of The Liberator were commenced the publication of the speeches of the Anarchists, delivered in court in Chicago on Oct. 7, 8 and 9, 1887, when asked why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon them. These speeches are their reply. It was their last message to the world and must prove interesting and instructive reading to the most prejudiced as well as the sympathetic. Instructive to the prejudiced-minded, because no person capable of clear reasoning powers can read these speeches and lay them down, and then, allowing the innermost recesses of his heart to speak, he must say, "Those men were innocent of the crime for which they suffered death." They were victims of class hatred.

ALBERT R. PARSONS' SPEECH.

(Continued from last week.)

This diabolical conspiracy against man's inalienable rights, finds its best portrayal in the words of State's Attorney Grinnell, himself one of the chief actors in this gigantic crime. At the conclusion of the trial he was interviewed by the agent of the Associated Press, who sent out a full report, from which I quote as follows:

"Do you propose to go ahead at once and bring other leaders of Anarchy to the halter?" Mr. Grinnell replied: "We intend to leave the Anarchists alone for a time, and see whether they have now learned what the right of free speech means in this country, and whether they still hold it to mean that they may incite men to riot, murder, and plunder. But I will say this: We have had in this trial men who were called 'squealers' and 'informers,' three or four of them. From these men we have obtained the names of all the principal Anarchists in Chicago. We have them on the list, and the Anarchists don't know it. I want them to know it now; I want them to know that they are marked men, and if ever a hand is raised to injure a hair of the heads of any juror or person conected with the trial that is now over, every Anarchist might as well consider that his death knell is sounded. We have their names and will bring every one of them to the gallows. Let them understand that."

I suppose you have attended the opera bouffe called "The Mikado." You will recollect that the lord high executioner of the mikado of Japan, like Grinnel, had them all "on the list." Grinnell proposes to continue to perpetrate acts which Mayor Harrison says could not be done in any monarchial country with safety, and which, if done in London, would shake Queen Victoria's throne itself. Mr. Grinnell proposes to keep this racket up, to continue it *ad infinitum*. This man, clothed with a little brief authority, spreads himself like a green-bay tree and gasconades with the fulsomeness of an autocrat. He would, with the mailed hand of power, silence the people's discontent and preserve law and order with silence of the graveyard and the order that reigned in Warsaw. At the behoof of this petty usurper the *Alarm*, the paper of which I was an editor, was seized and suppressed. This man seized it; he destroyed the files and documents connected with the office. He did the same with the German workingmen's daily paper, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and for several weeks, yes, several weeks, this man compelled its publishers and its editor to submit their editorials to him for his press censorship, he running his blue pencil through such articles as his majesty Grinnell saw fit to interdict.

In an interview concerning this matter, published in the Chicago papers, Grinnell said: "Very rigid measures will be adopted toward the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. Any reference to alleged bribery of the jury or other incendiary utterances will cause its instant suppression. We are going to see this matter clear through."

Thus the men who are selected to enforce the law and who are sworn and paid to obey it and enforce it, trample the law and the constitution under their feet at the behest of a few rich men when they find it convenient to punish the poor. Thus the blasphemous conspiracy against free speech, free press and public assemblage was concocted, engineered and consummated.

In the effort of the prosecution to hold up our opinions to public execration they lost sight of the charge of murder. Disloyalty to their class, and their boasted civilization is in their eyes a far greater crime than murder. Anarchy, in the language of Grinnell, is simply a compound of robbery, incendiarism and murder. Now, your honor, this is the official statement of Mr. Grinnell, and against his definition of Anarchy I would put that of Mr. Webster. I think that is pretty near as good authority as that gentleman's.

What is Anarchy? What is the nature of the dreadful thing—this Anarchy, for the holding of which this man says we ought to suffer death? The closing hours of this trial, yes, for five days the representatives of a privileged, usurped power of despotism sought to belie, misrepresent and vilify the doctrine in which I believe. Now, your honor, let me speak of that for a moment. What is Anarchy? What are its doctrines—

General Parsons—For which you are called upon to die.

Mr. Parsons—For which I am called upon to die. First and foremost it is our opinion, or the opinion of an Anarchist, that government is despotism; government is an organization of oppression, and law, statute law, is its agent. Anarchy is anti-government, anti-rulers, anti-dictators, anti-bosses and drivers. Anarchy is the negation of force; the elimination of all authority in social affairs; it is the denial of the right of domination of one man over another. It is the diffusion of rights, of power, of duties, equally and freely among all the people. But Anarchy, your honor, like many other words, is defined by Webster's dictionary as having two meanings. In one place it is defined to mean, "without rulers or governors." In another place it is defined to mean "disorder and confusion." Now, this latter meaning is what we call "capitalistic Anarchy," such as is now witnessed in all portions of the world and especially in this court room; the former, which means without rulers, is what we dominate Communistic Anarchy, which will be ushered in with the social revolution.

Socialism is a word which covers the whole range of human progress and advancement. Socialism is defined by Webster—I think I have a right to speak of this matter, because I am tried here as a Socialist. I am condemned as a Socialist, and it has been of Socialism that my friend Grinnell and these men had so much to say, and I think it right to speak before the country, and be heard in my own behalf, at least. If you are going to put me to death, then let the people know what it is for. Socialism is defined by Webster as "a theory of society which advocates a more precise, more orderly, and more harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than has hitherto prevailed." Therefore everything in the line of progress, in civilization in fact, is Socialistic. There are two distinct phases of Socialism in the labor movement throughout the world today. One is known as Anarchism, without political government or authority, the other is known as State Socialism or paternalism, or governmental control of everything. The State Socialist seeks to ameliorate and emancipate the wage laborers by means of law, by legislative enactments. The State Socialists demand the right to choose their own rulers. Anarchists would have neither rulers nor law makers of any kind. The Anarchists seek the same ends by the abrogation of law, by the abolition of all government, leaving the people free to unite or disunite, as fancy or interest may dictate, coercing no one, driving no party.

Now, your honor, we are supported in this position by a very distinguished man indeed, no less a man than Buckle, the author of "The History of Civilization." He states that there have been two opposing elements to the progress of civilization of man. The first of these two is the Church; the Church which commands what a man shall believe. And the other is the State, which commands him what to do. Now, sir, Buckle says that the only good laws passed in the last three or four hundred years have been laws that repealed other laws. That is the view exactly of Anarchists. Our belief is that all these laws should be repealed, and that is the only good legislation that could possibly take place.

(Continued next week.)

THIRTEEN LIVING SKELEONS COME OUT OF A MINE.

After Twenty Days of Most Terrile Suffering, Entombed Far Down in the Earth, They Find Their Way Out.

PARIS, March 30.—Like men coming back from the dead, thirteen of the 1,200 miners who were entombed by the explosion in the collieries at Courrieres twenty days ago, crawled out of the mine today barely alive. The work of rescue had ceased more than two weeks ago, as it was supposed that all of the entombed men had perished.

Tales of suffering such as few have ever heard came from the lips of the thirteen men. For several days they lived on the bark of posts used in shoring up the tunnels and some hay that was found in one of the underground stables. One day they had what they thought was a great feast when they discovered a small basket of raw carrots in a stable.

The last few days of their entombment they lived on the carcass of a horse that had been killed in one of the subterranean stables by the terrific explosion of March 10.

A gang of salvagers had been working at the mouth of the mine all last night and were just preparing to leave this morning when they saw what looked to them like a ghost crawling out of the shaft. His eyes were sunken and his body so emaciated that he seemed hardly human.

The man dragged himself toward the group of salvagers, his lips moving and hands extended as if in supplication. He could not utter a sound above a whisper.

"Quick, for the love of heaven," the man managed to whisper, "there are twelve more in there still alive."

The salvagers sped to the mouth of the mine to begin the work of rescue. Among them was William Montigny, a mining engineer, who took command and had the cage windlassed up to the mouth of the shaft. In it were twelve men, who, like the first to emerge from the living tomb, were like corpses. They had fallen in the cage from utter exhaustion, and only writhed and moaned. They shuddered in the cool air as the rescuers lifted them out of the cage and wrapped them up in their coats. Some of the men wept and others uttered hideous cackling laughs. They were not capable of realizing that they had come back from the verge of eternity.

So horrible was the scene that one of the rescuing party fell in a dead faint, while his comrades stood with blanched faces and trembling hands, not knowing what to do next. Fortunately there is an infirmary a short distance from the mouth of the mine, and some of the women employed there saw that something unusual was going on about the cage. Then they saw the helpless men stretched on the ground and came to the rescue, bringing blankets, mattresses and pillows.

The women nurses placed the helpless men on the mattresses and wrapped them in the blankets, and then they assisted in carrying them to the infirmary. There physicians and nurses set to work to restore them.

In the delirium of starvation and exhaustion the sufferers had entirely forgotten what food was, and they had to be forced to take milk from spoons. So long had they lived in darkness that the light blinded them, and they groped aimlessly and muttered incoherently to each other about trying to find some other exit from their tomb. They were living over again all the horrors of their entombment.

One of the rescued men was named Nemy. It was he who had first groped his way out of the mouth of the shaft, after struggling, he does not know how long, to climb the last twenty feet of the steps. Under the care of the physicians his senses finally returned, and he was able to tell briefly of the horrors through which he and his twelve comrades had passed.

"As soon as I had slightly recovered from the terrible explosion, that now seems months away," he said, "I dragged myself about, blinded, deafened and choking, in Pit No. 3, in search of some means of escape. I dimly remember falling several times over heaps of corpses as I crawled about in the thick darkness."

WOMEN ARE MORE LONELY THAN MEN.

In answer to the query, "Are women more lonely than men?" the London periodical Madam received a large number of replies. In almost all cases the writers—who are in every instance ladies—form the opinion that women are more lonely than men. It would be interesting to hear what men think on the subject, but they have not expressed their views.

Miss Avice Gregory said: "My answer is 'Yes!' and always will be. It is part of their nature not to have the same abandon in friendship as men, and there can be no true friendship without complete confidence. We women do not trust each other enough. Though history furnishes one or two brilliant instances of women friends, do we not always find the tie broken by one of these in the most callous manner? And when the rift occurs we find the difference between women and men friends manifested. For you will always find that one woman 'tattles.' You will find her relating the most sacred confidences to her next bosom friend. Men seldom tattle in friendship. 'Oh, we disagreed,' is all the curious know of the cause of the severed bond. One woman undoubtedly suffers in the case of a broken friendship. But is she not in her heart of hearts glad that she did not tell her whilom friend quite 'everything?' And it is just that last confidence which we forever keep to ourselves which makes us lonely. We find stanch friendships between men and women. But this, again, is a friendship of interests, of similar pursuits, of a hundred things except those innermost confidences which so unburden the emotional soul of a woman. Modern life, women's clubs, bustle and hurry only appeal to us because they make us fancy we have at last got ahead of ourselves, or, in other words, that we have outstripped our loneliness. But we will always be lonely."

WHAT MINERS INSIST UPON.

These four things the mine workers will insist upon: An eight-hour day for all outside workers; recognition of the union; a complete change in the methods and membership of the Board of Conciliation; an increase in wages on a flat scale throughout the coal fields.

These five things the operators will absolutely refuse to grant: The eight-hour day, Uniform rate of wages for 146 different classes of labor in different fields under widely varying conditions. The check-off system. The closed shop. The ten per cent increase in wages demanded.

John Mitchell is hopeful of a successful outcome of the conference between the committee of seven mine workers and the committee of seven operators, which meet today at noon. He is confident that an agreement can be reached which will make a strike unnecessary. It is regarded by the operators as certain that the conference will fail if Mr. Mitchell insists upon a single important point. The statement has been made that the operators will grant nothing. It is believed, however, that in order to save themselves from the general condemnation which will follow the declaration of a strike they will agree in the course of the conference to make a few unimportant concessions which will have absolutely no bearing upon the general situation.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY THE ANARCHISTS' CONGRESS, HELD IN PITTSBURG, PA.

To the Workingmen of America.

Fellow-Workmen: The Declaration of Independence says:

"* * * But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them (the people) under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such Government and provide new guards for their future security."

This thought of Thomas Jefferson was the justification for armed resistance by our forefathers, which gave birth to our Republic, and do not the necessities of our present time compel us to reassert their declaration?

Fellow-workmen, we ask you to give us your attention for a few moments. We ask you to candidly read the following manifesto issued in your behalf; in behalf of your wives and children; in behalf of humanity and progress.

Our present society is founded on the exploitation of the propertyless by the propertied. The exploitation is such that the propertied (capitalist) buy the working force, body and soul, of the propertyless, for the price of the mere cost of existence (wages), and take for themselves (i. e., steal) the amount of new values (products) which exceeds the price, whereby wages are made to represent the necessities instead of the earnings of the wage-laborer.

As the non-possessing classes are forced by their poverty to offer for sale to the propertied their working forces, and as our present production on a grand scale enforces technical development with immense rapidity so that by the application of an always decreasing number of human working force an always increasing amount of products is created; so does the supply of working force increase constantly, while the demand therefore decreases This is the reason why the workers compete more and more intensely in selling themselves, causing their wages to sink, or at least on the average never raising them above the margin necessary for keeping intact their working ability.

Whilst by this process the propertyless are entirely debarred from entering the ranks of the propertied, even by the most strenuous exertions, the propertied, by means of the ever-increasing plundering of the working class, are becoming richer day by day, without in any way being themselves productive.

If now and then one of the propertyless class become rich it is not by their own labor, but from opportunities which they have to speculate upon and absorb the labor product of others.

With the accumulation of individual wealth the greed and power of the propertied grows. They use all the means for competing among themselves for the robbery of the people. In this struggle generally the less-propertied (middle class) are overcome, while the great capitalists, par excellence, swell their wealth enormously, concentrate entire branches of production, as well as trade and inter-communication, into their hands, and develop into monopolies. The increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average income of the working mass of the people, leads to so-called "business" and "commercial" crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme.

For illustration: The last census of the United States shows that after deducting the cost of raw material, interest, rents, risks, etc., the propertied class have absorbed—i. e., stolen—more than five-eighths of all products, leaving scarcely three-eighths to the producers. The propertied class being scarcely one-tenth of our population, and in spite of their luxury and extravagance, are unable to consume their enormous "profits," and the producers unable to consume more than they receive—three-eighths—so-called "overproductions" must necessarily take place. The terrible results of panics are well known.

The increasing eradication of working forces from the productive process annually increases the percentage of the propertyless population, which becomes pauperized and is driven to "crime," vagabondage, prostitution, suicide, starvation, and general depravity. This system is unjust, insane, and murderous. It is, therefore, necessary to totally destroy it with and by all means, and with the greatest energy on the part of every one who suffers by it and who does not want to be made culpable for its continued existence by his inactivity.

Agitation for the purpose of organization; organization for the purpose of rebellion. In these few words the ways are marked which the workers must take if they want to be rid of their chains. As the economic condition is the same in all countries of so-calleld "civilization;" as the Governments of all Monarchies and Republics work hand in hand for the purpose of opposing all movements of the thinking part of the workers, as, finally, the victory in the decisive combat of the proletarians against their oppressors can only be gained by the simultaneous struggle along the whole line of the bourgeois (capitalistic) society—so, therefore, the international fraternity of people as expressed in the International Working People's Association presents itself a self-evident necessity.

True order should take its place. This can only be achieved when all implements of labor, the soil and other premises of production—in short, capital produced by labor—is changed into societary property. Only by this presupposition is destroyed every possibility of the future spoliation of man by man. Only by common, undivided capital can all be enabled to enjoy in their fullness the fruits of the common toil. Only by the impossibility of accumulating individual (private) capital can everyone be compelled to work who makes a demand to live.

This order of things allows production to regulate itself according to the demand of the whole people, so that nobody need work more than a few hours a day, and that all nevertheless can supply their needs. Thereby time and opportunity are given for opening to the people the way to the highest possible civilization; the privileges of higher intelligence fall with the privileges of wealth and birth. To the achievement of such a system the political organizations of the capitalistic classes—be they Monarchies or Republics—form the barriers. These political structures (States), which are completely in the hands of the propertied, have no other purpose than the upholding of the present disorder of exploitation.

All laws are directed against the working people. In so far as the opposite appears to be the case, they serve on one hand to blind the worker, while on the other hand they are simply evaded. Even the school serves only the purpose of furnishing the offspring of the wealthy with those qualities necessary to uphold their class domination. The children of the poor get scarcely a formal elementary training, and this, too, is mainly directed to such branches as tend to producing prejudices, arrogance, and servility; in short, want of sense. The capitalistic press, on the other hand, takes care of the confusion of spirits in public life. All these institutions, far from aiding in the education of the masses, have for their object the keeping in ignorance of the people. They are all in the pay and under the direction of the capitalistic classes. The workers can therefore expect no help from any capitalistic party in their struggle against the existing system. They must achieve their liberation by their own efforts. As in former times a privileged class never surrendered its tyranny, neither can it be expected that the capitalists of this age will give up their rulership without being forced to do it.

If there ever could have been any question on this point it should long ago have been dispelled by the brutalities which the bourgeois of all countries—in America as well as in Europe—constantly commit, as often as the proletariat anywhere energetically move to better their condition. It becomes, therefore, self-evident that the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeois will be of a violent revolutionary character.

We could show by scores of illustrations that all attempts in the past to reform this monstrous system by peaceable means, such as the ballot, have been futile, and all such efforts in the future must necessarily be so, for the following reasons:

The political institutions of our time are the agencies of the propertied class; their mission is the upholding of the privileges of their masters; any reform in your own behalf would curtail these privileges. To this they will not and cannot consent, for it would be suicidal to themselves.

That they will not resign their privileges voluntarily we know; that they will not make any concessions to us we likewise know. Since we must then rely upon the kindness of our master for whatever redress we have, and knowing that from them no good may be expected, there remains but one recourse—force! Our forefathers have not only told us that against despots force is justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set the immemorial example.

By force our ancestors liberated themselves from political oppression, by force their children will have to liberate themselves from economic bondage. "It is, therefore, your right, it is your duty," says Jefferson, "to arm!"

What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply:

First—Destruction of the existing class rule by all means—i. e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

Second—Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

Third—Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

Fourth—Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

Fifth—Equal rights for all, without distinction to sex or race.

Sixth—Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) Communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

Whoever agrees with this idea let him grasp our outstretched brother-hands!

Proletarians from all countries, unite!

Fellow-workmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is organization and unity.

The day has come for solidarity! Join our ranks! Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle: "Workmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to win!"

Issued by the Pittsburg Congress of the International Working People's Association, on October 16, 1883.

CORRESPONDENCE

HIT THE NAIL ON THE HEAD.

THE LIBERATOR, No. 25, contained a splendid article by O. Herrman, and I think he expresses the thoughts of many other comrades just to the point. What we most need in this country is a good English Anarchist paper, and this we have now in THE LIBERATOR. Now, if the comrades only would be determined, THE LIBERATOR will surely exist. Without English publications effective propaganda can never be carried on. Why don't these comrades that find in THE LIBERATOR an old story paper come to the front and support it with good and fine articles; by doing so they would make and not break propaganda.

I know quite a number of comrades that spend a good deal of money for all sorts of sundry "funny" papers and magazines. This they offer their children that are well able to read a good paper, as brain food. For an English Anarchist paper those comrades have no money. We have an ideal that we pretend to love so well. Can't we make a little sacrifice for it? By dropping some of the stupefying literature and sending this money to THE LIBERATOR we would aid the English propaganda.

ELISE SANTORO,
Box 675, Santa Clara, Cal.

* * *

If every comrade over the whole country was as sincere and practical as our Comrade Santoro is the paper would be much larger and better off.

THE STATE OF IDAHO IS SHIVERING IN ITS SLEEVES.

A despatch from Boise, Idaho, brings us the good news that they have granted our Comrades Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone a writ of error to the United States Supreme Court, being forced thereby to turn them loose of their claws, and to send them back to their resident states. This and the open letter, which Governor Gooding of Idaho sent out that the people should not fear, that he will see to it that they get a "fair trial," goes to show that they found the brick which they grabbed is a little too hot for them, and now our real work begins, for if we don't raise public opinion against it and the whole organized and unorganized laborers of this country, and strike if necessary, as one man, they will certainly sentence and execute them. In other words, they will do it if they dare.

Will you twenty million workers let them? I believe not.

E. G.

LOVE THE MEASURE OF OUR VITAL ENERGIES.

(By Max Nordau.)

(Continued from last week.)

In order to form an unprejudiced judgment of the institution of matrimony we must first accomplish the difficult task of shaking off prejudices in which we have grown up, and emancipate ourselves completely from the habit of the Christian conception of morality, which has become so intertwined with all our thought. In opposition to the theological view we must look upon man as a natural being and consider him in connection with the rest of nature. If we wish to test the justness of any human institution, we must inquire if it corresponds with man's constitution, his nature, fundamental impulses and the highest interests of the race. If we apply this standard to the institution of matrimony it is very doubtful whether it will stand the test, and it seems extremely difficult to prove that it is a natural condition of man and not a human institution. We have seen that the economic organization of society leads to the contracting of marriages from material interest, and that the morality of Christianity refuses to recognize the validity of love. But now the last and most painful question of all obtrudes itself upon us: Is matrimony a lie simply because it is usually entered into for mercenary motives and not for the possession of a certain individual, and is it a constraint merely because the morality of Christianity will not concede the fact of the existence of such a thing as love, in conjunction with the fetters imposed by the priest? Is not matrimony rather, as it exists today in our civilization, an altogether unnatural form of the relation between the two sexes, and in its present phase of development, that is, as a perpetual alliance for the whole life? Would it not be a lie even if marriages were never contracted on any other grounds than those of love, and all its natural rights were conceded in passion?

We are so far removed from a condition of nature in regard to the relation between the sexes that it is extremely difficult to distinguish with certainty between what is physiological and necessary in this matter and what has been so distorted, perverted and artificially added to during centuries of transmission that a careful, critical analysis of the inmost promptings of the human heart, added to the deduction drawn from observations of the life of the higher animals, leads an adherent of the present institution to very discouraging conclusions.

Marriage, as it has developed historically with our civilization, is based principally and solely upon the recognition of monogamy. But it appears that monogamy is not a natural condition of mankind, hence there is a fundamental contradiction between the individual impulse and the social institution, the cause of constantly renewed conflicts between sentiment and customs, in many cases bringing the substance into perpetual opposition to the form and making the state of matrimony a lie. Scarcely any reform is practicable that would bring the outward visible sign, the monogamic matrimonial relations of a wedded pair, into perfect harmony under all circumstances with their inward attraction and affection for each other.

The institution of matrimony is founded altogether upon the superstition or knowledge of the fact that the interests perpetuating and perfecting the race require a certain supervision by the community of the impulses of pro-creation, as I have attempted to prove above. But the fact that this institution has assumed the form of a union between two parties to last as long as they both live, this fact is no outcome of the interests of the species; it is not a vital condition of the kind, consequently is not produced by the impulse for its preservation, but it is a direct result of the economic organization of society, and therefore probably as transitory as this organization. The conviction that matrimony must assume the form of monogamy, a conviction perhaps only semi-conscious, but still distinct enough to be formulated into laws and customs, was produced probably by this train of reasoning. In a society which has no fellowship in the production, distribution and consumption of wealth; that is, in a society without any economic solidarity, in which every one toils and cares for himself alone, and sees with unconcern his neighbor perish by his side, the children would starve if the parents did not bring them up. The mother cannot carry alone the burden of the children's support, because in this egotistical society man will misuse his superior strength to crowd and push woman, as she is the weaker, out of all the light and more remunerative positions for earning a livelihood; that is, all for which she is fitted, to such an extent that she can hardly support herself by her own toil, to say nothing of supporting her children. The father must be compelled therefore to aid the mother in carrying this burden. But this compulsion can only be exercised in one way: by forging a chain that will bind the man indissolubly to the woman he wishes to make a mother. This chain is the marriage for life. And to make it more easy to determine which father is responsible for which child, to obviate any possible danger of imposing the duty of a child's support upon the wrong father, no man is allowed to have children by but one woman, in the eyes of the law, and no woman save by one man.

This is the single marriage or monogamy, and now the relations are simple and summary. * * *

(Continued next week.)

LABOR'S LONG STRUGGLE WITH CAPITAL.

NO. 17.

In No. 11 of The Liberator the serial articles now running under this head (Labor's Long Struggle With Capital) were commenced. These articles date back to the earliest times, ante-dating the Christian era, showing the condition of labor in ancient times, and through the Middle Ages, bringing the reader down through the Feudal System into the wage system. These articles are all based upon the most reliable historical data obtainable, and are written in a simple style so as to be especially adapted to the needs of the young student in the labor movement. Back numbers of The Liberator containing these articles can be had by addressing this office. 5 cents per copy.

* * *

The coal miner, the child of the mid-day night, the delver in the dark, dangerous, gaseous regions of the earth, far from comfort, far from home, far from loved ones, away down in the dark caverns of the earth, ye who face starvation to-day: When did you try to better your condition by linking your fortunes and your misfortunes to your fellow-slaves? When did you awake from the long night of apathy? I will tell you when: In 1860 Daniel Weaver, Thomas Lloyd and several others got together and talked up the benefits to be derived from and the actual necessity for a general organization of coal miners. The result was the following address:

"The necessity for an association of miners and those branches of industry immediately connected with mining operations, having for its objects the mental, physical and social elevation of the miner, has long been felt by the thinking portion of the miners generally.

Union is the greatest fundamental principle by which every object of importance is to be accomplished. Man is a social being and, if left to himself in an isolated condition, would be one of the weakest of creatures; but, associated with his kind, he works wonders. Men can do jointly what they cannot do singly, and the *union* of minds and hands, the concentration of their power becomes almost omnipotent. Nor is this all; men not only accumulate power by union, but gain warmth and earnestness. There is an electric sympathy kindled and the attractive forces inherent in human nature are called into action, and a stream of generous emotion, of a friendly regard for each other, binds together and animates the whole.

If men would spread one set of opinions or crush another, they make society. From organization of our armies, our railroad and banking companies, down through every minute ramification of society to trades' associations, sick benefit societies, men have learned the power and efficiency of co-operation, and are determined therefore to stand by each other. How long, then, will miners remain isolated, antagonistic to each other? Does it not behoove us, as miners, to use every means to elevate our position in society by a reformation of character, by obliterating all personal animosities and frivolous nationalities and striving for the attainments of high principles and generous motives, which will fit us to bear a manly, useful and honorable part in the world? Our unity is essential to the attainment of our own rights and the amelioration of our condition. The insatiable maw of capital would devour every vestage of labor's rights. Our remedy, our safety, our protection, our dearest interests and social well-being of our families, present and future, depend on our unity, our duty and our regard for each other. * * *

Come, then, and rally around the standard of union—the Union of States and the unity of miners—and, with honesty of purpose, zeal, and watchfulness—the pledge of success—unite for the emancipation of our labor and the regeneration and elevation physically, mentally and morally of our species. Yours on behalf of the miners.

"THE COMMITTEE."

The result of this address was that on the 28th of January, 1861, a convention was held consisting of representatives of the miners from several states, and the "American Miners' Association" was established, and a foundation laid for the present great organization of the United Mine Workers of America, who, after all those wearisome years of organizing, conflicts with capital and persecution, is threatened with disruption owing to a long lock-out and consequent starvation. But such, alas, is labor's fate under our present accursed system.

L. E. P.

(To be continued.)

THE DOG'S TAIL.

A man and a dog were hunting. They had found nothing and the man was very hungry, so he cut the dog's tail off and cooked it, eat the meat off and gave the dog the bone. It is not recorded whether the dog thought he should have had any more than the bone of his own tail or not. A few millions of men were hunting in a country where God had placed the raw materials of nature, free for all who might wish to use them. He had so arranged it that labor applied to these natural resources would yield in return whatever man might want. Man was to apply labor to the free gift of God, nature's resources, and the wages of that labor was to be the product thereof. But some of the men, shrewder than the rest, got others to work for them under contract, and they took the product of the labor of others and returned to them a bare subsistence. Then they laid claim to the raw material, the resources of nature, God's free gift, got themselves elected to office and made laws deeding the free gifts of God to themselves. After this they furnished raw material and called it capital, and took the products of the labor of other men, took from it all the meat and cast the poor dogs the bone of their own tails. At last report the dogs had become convinced that the raw material, nature's resources, God's free gift, was not the private property of the "boss," but was as much theirs as his. They were beginning to see that the product of their labor was theirs—meat, bone, hair and all—and there were organized efforts being made to secure their own.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

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Lucy E. Parsons of Chicago will speak in Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Thursday, April 12, 8 p. m. Subject, "The Capitalistic Conspiracy of 1886 in Chicago, in which they hanged innocent men, is to be repeated in Idaho!" Citizens, arouse yourselves, turn out, and by your protest prevent this second diabolical conspiracy of capital.

The following mass meetings for the defense of Moyer, Haywood and their comrades are to be held: April 6, West Side Auditorium, Taylor and Center avenue; April 8, Social Turner Hall, Paulina and Belmont.

Lucy E. Parsons of Chicago will speak in the following cities, dates to be announced later:

Lynn, Mass.; Boston, Mass.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Cleveland, O.; Pittsburg, Pa.

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